child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the custom.

6. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following:—

(a) The *synhiar syngat*, or betrothal.

(b) The passing out of Khasis of hyne to the bride (the first external ceremony).

(c) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(d) The mixing of liquor by the bridegroom, or go-between.

(e) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows:—The husband breaks the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife breaks them back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or breaks them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete.

8. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka 'ewphyndi*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka 'ewlawei kyrdi*—the fowl that sanctions the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up over the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka wait pyrsiew*. When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai'ja mini ja sep*. It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a log canoe hewn out of a tree, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka diympoh*. When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u sarnah*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U long sat lumdieng* goat to wash the dust)—which is believed to be a stepping-stone to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka dong*). When the *diympoh* is used it is placed inside the bier. Rope ties is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *Nata*. On arrival at the burning place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang*. The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka sla pudit*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre.

14: Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 ART Khasi ART

Blei na shiw, ha Lei Synshar, Ka Blei sniw, 582
mam briw, hunda ia kaiam hunda kha ma phi 595
U Blei ha Blei ban long I Kha I mam, hunda 599
ia pyrshar ia nyniat ngnia ia ajni, ia phira tip,
ia phira ngam ne jirong ka kpoiang ha ata I
jaid bad ata I jaid ki ia ngani kha pai mam ban
sarai ban ia mam ban ia kit ka long kpoiai ia
long ainjaraing'. Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who sustainest, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I mam* (person with whom and through whom to give mam to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear closely from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have 581
said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the 713
Khasis that there was ever a time when the system of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 ART Khasi ART

[59] [71] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Skum* (the seven casts, seven casts). These seven casts or casts were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven homes (families) and from these the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system has come down through ages and with a definite idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[85] [60] [55] In the sacred rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

19: Nakane E-9 (1959-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor in the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is closely related to the structure of the clan. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with an Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the clan. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

always somewhat outside the family organization, which was centred on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 232-35, 246), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce rate. At Kongkon (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and their spouses), the number of persons who had experiences of divorce was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice numbered 13 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jaitapu village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to betrothed. In general, the period when divorce occurs most frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongkon, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few betel nuts together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence they psychologically cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

ship. They still live in the same familial atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's unmediatable situation, when the wife is beloved, encourages him to take marriage too seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself on the authority in his sister's house. If he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the ring, the tendency for him to regard his ring as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the brother and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family (ring) and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 264), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his ring. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. So far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Tiv, where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, matrilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man ever succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his ring, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de jure* authority, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the ring.

The man's attachment to his ring is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differ from the matrilineal Nagar Brahmin Hsieh. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Iwata, 1938, p. 177).[1] This difference

1. To account this fact as one of the reasons of the instability of marriage among the Nagar Brahmins. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable.

Press
after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal clan. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's clan is rich. However, during my field work, I found an array of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

Given such strong residential independence on the part of the sex-horizon, economically divorced from her descent group, and attained complete sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and clan. Therefore, when each partner has his loyalty towards his or her natal clan, the divorce rate becomes correspondingly lower. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an clan and a new clan is always established by a husband's contribution.

Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a sex-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 129).

In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his clan (his youngest sister's house). But in marriage with a sex-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

19: Nakane K-9 (1959-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has gone at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. However, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

[P. 140 is blank]

ray from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. (Cf. Chattopadhyay 1961). The terminology. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Elwin 1961) for some regional variants.

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasem*
FaYoBr	*pahlyrnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meiseh*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*meisan, kne*
MoYoBr	*kah (ref., kne)*
ElBr	*kah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong kah*
YoBr	*kah dong*
Youngest Br	*kah duh*
ElSi	*dong*
Eldest Si	*kal, kong*
YoSi	*kal nah, kal ri*
Youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi, MoElDa	*para ref., para ar kmar*
FaElSi, FaElDa	*para ref., paradha*
MoElSi, MoElDa	
FaElSi, FaElDa	*kadha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. Mode. According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, approaching her through banter while she and her parents remained there, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17 years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 18 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. Form. Monogamy is the ideal for all. Extension of incest taboos. Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaDa, FaMoCh, FaMoSi, and FaMoMo. The MoBrW is also prohibited. Boy

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in 58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428